

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 DRC-01 TRSE-00

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P R 131533Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0423

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 02404

SHAPE FOR INTAF: YIENNA /OR MBFR DEL

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL AND SALT DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: MBFR VERIFICATION

REF: (A) STATE 27044, (B) BONN 2031, (C) BONN 1055,

(D) U.S.NATO 497

BEGIN SUMMARY: FRG DISARMAMENT COMMISSIONER ROTH REQUESTED EMBOFF TO CALL FEB 12 FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSION OF MBFR VERIFICATION. ROTH CONFIRMED THAT, ON BALANCE, GERMANS ATTACH HIGHER PRIORITY TO AVOIDING SOVIET INTER-FERENCE IN FRG THAN TO ENHANCING MEANS OF VERIFICATION. FRG FAVORS CENTERING ALLIED DISCUSSIONS NOW ON VERIFICATION OF MBFR-I AND PREFERS TO DEFER ALLIANCE STUDY OF THE DIFFERENT PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN MBFR-II VERIFICATION.

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ACCORDINGLY, FRG WILL BE ABLE TO ACCEPT THE U.S./UK TYPE

LANGUAGE ON NTM TYPE PARTICIPATION (REF A - PARA 2),
WITH INTENT TO RETURN TO TOPIC AFTER FURTHER CONSIDERING
NTM CAPABILITIES. ROTH ALSO COMMENTED ON
OTHER VERIFICATION ISSUES. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL - WITH FRG ANALYTICAL STUDY PROGRESSING AND
ATTITUDES TOWARD MBFR-I VERIFICATION BEGINNING TO JELL,
AMBASSADOR ROTH SAID HE WISHED TO PASS ON TO US INFORMAL-
LY HIS CURRENT THINKING. BASIC ISSUE FOR GERMANY, AS
INDICATED IN BONN REFTELS, IS HOW BEST TO
DRAW BALANCE BETWEEN EFFECTIVE VERIFICATION AND WITH-
HOLDING INSTRUMENTS OF SOVIET INTRUSION ON FRG TERRITORY
OR IN EC INTEGRATION PROCESS. ROTH'S INITIAL IMPRESSION
FROM ANALYTICAL STUDY IS THAT EFFECTIVENESS OF NEGO-
TIATED VERIFICATION MEASURES IN EASTERN EUROPE IS SOME-
WHAT QUESTIONABLE. HE ALSO REFERRED TO COST OF SUCH
MEASURES AND TO "FALSE RATE PROBLEM," INDICATING THAT
INCREASED VERIFICATION SEEMED TO PRODUCE MORE ERRORS.
IN ANY CASE, ROTH SAID FRG INCREASINGLY ATTACHES GREATER
IMPORTANCE TO AVOIDING SOVIET INTRUSION THAN TO ENHANCING
VERIFICATION. THIS IS BECAUSE VERIFICATION OF U.S. MBFR
REDUCTIONS IN PHASE I WILL OCCUR ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN
SOUTHERN FRG AND PHASE II WESTERN REDUCTIONS ALSO WILL
OCCUR MAINLY IN FRG TERRITORY.

2. ROTH SAID HE BELIEVES MBFR-I U.S. AND SOVIET FORCE
WITHDRAWALS COULD BE VERIFIED BY TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT
OF MOBILE TEAMS; PERMANENT VERIFICATION OF MBFR-I
RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS COULD BE ACHIEVED BY NTM. WHILE
MORE VERIFICATION CONCEIVABLY NEGOTIABLE, ROTH BELIEVES
ABOVE MEASURES ARE SUFFICIENT IN MBFR-I AND, CONSISTENT
WITH ABOVE ATTITUDE ON VERIFICATION, GERMANS BELIEVE
"SUFFICIENCY" RATHER THAN "OPTIMALIZATION" SHOULD BE
THE TEST. ROTH STRESSED THAT AMERICAN NTM CAPABILITIES
ARE UNKNOWN TO BONN. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING SENSITIVITY
OF ISSUE, HE VOICED HOPE THAT U.S. COULD AT SOME POINT
CLARIFY EXACTLY HOW MUCH VERIFICATION BEYOND NTM IS
ESSENTIAL TO ASSURE INTEGRITY OF MBFR AGREEMENTS. IN
THE INTERIM, ROTH SAID FRG WILL BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT
U.S./UK TYPE LANGUAGE ON NTM IN SPC VERIFICATION PAPER
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(SEE REF C - PARA 2 AND PARA 5 OF SPC TEXT "...BE
INTERESTED"), WITH INTENTION OF RETURNING TO PARTICIPA-
TION ISSUE LATER, PERHAPS IN CONNECTION WITH MBFR-II
PROVISIONS ON VERIFICATION.

3. ROTH SAID HIS VIEWS ON MBFR-II VERIFICATION REMAIN
FLUID, PENDING FURTHER FRG STUDY AND U.S. CLARIFICATION
OF NTM CAPABILITIES AND ON JUST HOW MUCH BEYOND NTM IS

REALLY ESSENTIAL. AT PRESENT, ROTH BELIEVES MBFR-II
REDUCTIONS COULD BE VERIFIED BY TEMPORARILY DEPLOYED
MOBILE TEAMS BUT THAT PERMANENT VERIFICATION OF RESIDUAL
FORCE LEVELS SHOULD BE ESSENTIALLY BY NTM. IT MIGHT BE
POSSIBLE TO SUPPLEMENT NTM IN MBFR II AND PEHAPS ALSO
IN MBFR-I, BY MULTILATERAL WORKING LEVEL STANDING CONTROL
COMMISSION (SCC) ALONG LINES OF SALT MODEL. SCC WOULD
EXCHANGE DATA, SUPERVISE VERIFICATION OF FORCE WITH-

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 IO-14 ISO-00 ACDE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00

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P R 131533Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0424

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

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S E C R E T SECTION 02 OF 02 BONN 02404

DRAWAL IMPLEMENTATION AND HANDLE COMPLAINTS OF VIOLATION.
IF COMPLAINT IS NOT SETTLED AT WORKING LEVEL, A KIND OF
ON-SITE INSPECTION BY CHALLENGE WOULD THEN BE POSSIBLE.
ROTH EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT FRG ATTITUDE TOWARD SUCH
AN SCC WOULD DEPEND ON WHETHER IT IS REALLY NEEDED TO
SUPPLEMENT NTM.

4. ROTH EXPLAINED, ALONG LINES REF B - PARAS 3 AND 4,

GERMAN OPPOSITION TO PERMANENT AND MOBILE SOVIET TEAMS.
WHILE HE UNDERSTANDS THAT THERE ARE SOVIET
MLM'S WITH RIGHT OF FREE MOVEMENT IN FRG,
THESE MLM'S OPERATE ON BASIS OF FOUR POWER
RIGHTS AND ARE NOT SANCTIONED BY FRG/SOVIET AGREEMENT.
WHILE BONN ACQUIESCES IN THIS "FACT OF LIFE," ROTH
CLAIMS THAT FRG ASSENT TO MBFR AGREEMENT INVOLVING
VERIFICATION BY SOVIET TEAMS WOULD ENTAIL SEVERE DOMESTIC
POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND LEGALLY WOULD REQUIRE AUTHORIZA-
TION BY A BUNDESTAG LAW. ROTH IS AWARE OF UK SUPPORT OF
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MOBILE TEAMS SUPPLEMENTED BY STATIC POSTS AT KEY JUNC-
TIONS AND OF U.S. PREFERENCE STATED IN REF A - PARAS 6
AND 7. NONETHELESS, GIVEN ABOVE REASONS, AND SKEPTICISM
REGARDING GAINS FROM PERMANENT ON-SITE INSPECTION OF
RESIDUAL FORCE LEVELS, ROTH BELIEVES WEST SHOULD SEEK
ONLY AS LITTLE VERIFICATION AS NECESSARY RATHER THAN AS
MUCH AS NEGOTIABLE.

5. ON LIAISON OFFICER ISSUE, ROTH SAID HE COULD GO ALONG
WITH LEAVING IT UP TO SOVIETS TO PROPOSE LIAISON
OFFICERS. HOWEVER, WE EXPECT FRG WOULD IN THE END
DEMAND LIAISON OFFICERS IF SOVIETS EVENTUALLY DO NOT
DO SO.

6. ROTH CONFIRMED OUR REF B - PARA 5 COMMENT THAT FRG,
LIKE U.S., OPPOSES VERIFICATION OF CONSTRAINTS, AS
MBFR STABILIZING MEASURE--PARTICULARLY OBSERVERS--
THEMSELVES FACILITATE VERIFICATION.

7. IN CLOSING, RECALLING SALT I AGREEMENT AND JUNE 1973
SALT DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, ROTH EXPRESSED SOME
SURPRISE AT EXPRESSED U.S. WISH TO SEEK OVERT MBFR
INSPECTION BEYOND NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NTM. HE SPECU-
LATED THAT THIS AMERICAN POSITION ON MBFR VERIFICATION
MIGHT BE RELATED TO A U.S. JUDGMENT THAT SOME ON-SITE
INSPECTION WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR MIRV MORATORIUM OR
SIMILAR QUALITATIVE ACCORD IN SALT-TWO.
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